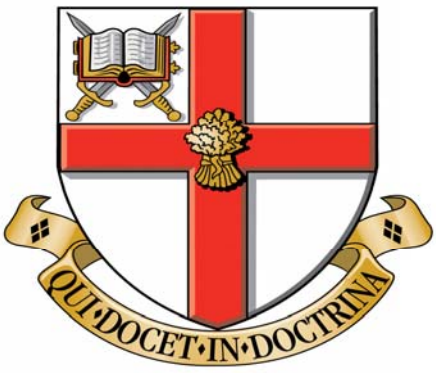

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INVESTIGATING THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND MEMORY OF THE LOWTHER VALLEY AND ITS LINKS WITH THE LOWTHER FAMILY

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View of Lowther Castle from its Gardens as of September 2014 (Copyright Lowther Estates Trust)

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1. Introduction

This dissertation studies the complex interactions between memory, landscape and time, focussing on the archaeology and memory of the Lowther valley, an area on the eastern edge of the Lake District National Park (LDNP). At the centre of this landscape sits the 'ruin' of Lowther Castle, once the seat of the highly wealthy and influential Lowther family. This paper focuses on the ways in which the Lowther family influenced the landscape and time in the creation of their memories and in the establishment of Lowther Castle as a hub for memory, in the context of past and present perceptions of time and memory in the surrounding landscape of Lowther valley. By combining practical and theoretical approaches this study explores how and why the landscape exists as it does through the presence and absence of memory in time. It concludes with the suggestion that understanding the landscape in terms of memory gives archaeologists a richer array of possible interpretations, whilst it is also argued that the portrayal of a changed and changing landscape through memories rather than chronology is beneficial to all parties: academia, the public and the landscape itself.

The topic was chosen for two main reasons: one, that it tackles a wide range of theoretical issues arising from the increasing popularity of landscape and memory studies within archaeology (see Holtorf & Williams, 2006, 235-236; Witmore, 2008); and two, that it allows for a detailed study of the archaeology of an otherwise academically neglected landscape which is of significant interest (see 1.1). The landscape has been broadly analysed as part of an English Heritage Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) for Cumbria and a Landscape Character Assessment (LCA) by the Lake District National Park Authority (LDNPA), but both of these necessarily broad assessments brush over the Lowther Valley, describing it in little detail and focussing on the landscape from an administrative perspective, discussing implications for planning laws or future conservation; the LCA does mention the archaeological significance of the Lowther Valley but does not provide any

detail or explanation, however both reports do at least include Lowther Castle as a landscape feature (LDNPA LCA). Although differing in focus, both of these types of landscape interpretation include an appraisal of a region's historical character, but, as already seen, this can be too vague to use as the basis for detailed archaeological study (Turner). Building on the vague outlines that these reports provide, this study examines the archaeological, historical and memorial facets of the landscape in far greater detail.

At the centre of the Lowther valley landscape sits the now 'romantic' ruins of Lowther Castle on a site which has hosted the Lowther family for nigh on a millennium. Now little-known landowners, the Lowthers have been heavily implicated in the affairs of Britain for hundreds of years previously. Apart from a comprehensive family history by Hugh Owen (Owen 1990), the Lowthers, the castle and park and the vast estates, of which the Lowther Valley landscape is just a part, have never been thoroughly investigated or documented. The ongoing heritage project to stabilise the ruins of Lowther Castle, 'rediscover' its gardens and tell the tales of the site, landscape and family's pasts has merely highlighted this lack of exposure, making it a topic ripe for study. Similar landscape-based archaeological studies have been undertaken on the Chatsworth estate (Bannister, 2009), and the Castle Howard estate and Sledmere estates (Mytum 2007, 148-169). At Chatsworth, in the Peak District, a wide, comprehensive landscape history and archaeology of the estate was presented but the role of memory within this was largely ignored, whereas at Castle Howard and Sledmere, both in Yorkshire, monuments and commemoration were the focus in relation to memory within the landscape, but other archaeological sources of memory were not discussed, for example the material presence of Bronze Age barrows in the landscape. This study aims to combine the thrusts of these two approaches to give a more archaeologically comprehensive understanding of memory within the Lowther Valley landscape, considering in detail both the Lowther Valley landscape and the small area of Lowther Castle and Gardens at its heart. The

way these parts of the landscape interact, especially in terms of memory, often memory created by the Lowther family, is also important to answering the wider question.

From a theoretical perspective, the importance of memory within archaeology, including the archaeological aim to understand memories through time, is increasingly being recognised (see Holtorf & Williams, 2006, 252-254), as is relationship between memory and the landscape (Tolia-Kelly, 2013, 322-324). This study is not just another critical examination of similar ideas, central here is an investigation of how memory and landscape combine in their portrayal of time, another currently debated topic in archaeology as it struggles with perceptions of time and chronology in the present (Olivier, 2004; Witmore, 2008). This paper establishes a new theoretical angle focussed upon memory which tackles the problems of chronology (see 1.3). The Lowther Valley landscape provides the archaeological case study around which these arguments are structured.

1.1 The Lowther Valley in context

The River Lowther winds its way northwards along the Eastern edge of the Lake District from its source on the Shap Fells up to Brougham, just outside Penrith, where it joins the River Eamont . The Lowther Valley area, as defined in the LDNPA LCA, begins just south of Shap (see Fig.1), with fells bordering it to the west and the M6 motorway to the east. This strip of landscape incorporates a rich archaeological selection of features: a medieval castle built over a Roman fort; an 8th century cross fragment in a landscaped rockery garden; a Neolithic funerary site re-used in the Anglo-Saxon period, the whole site now subsumed within a quarry; and a 19th century monument erected with a view of Shap's Neolithic 'Stone Avenue' and its ruined abbey. A variety of memorial sites are included within this panoply, from local churchyards and cemeteries to a mausoleum and a monument to the Millennium.

Complemented by countless earthworks, furrows, ridges, lines and cairns which have to be prised from the undulating land, as well as the imposing ruins of Lowther Castle and Gardens, these archaeological features are obviously not distinct from 'the land', they are very much experienced in the present by all who live in and around them as well as by those who visit. The Lowther Valley may have a perceived "sense of timelessness... A strong sense of tranquillity" (LDNP, 2008, 100), but it is an archaeologically vibrant landscape the material evidence of which shows that time has continuously brought about small changes here and there. The "historic significance of this landscape" (LDNP, 2008, 100) is not simply rooted in the past and hinted at by this vast array of archaeology, this archaeology is very much alive in the present and is part of the experienced landscape.

Fig.1: Map showing Lowther Valley area. (Copyright Google 2014)

In landscape terms, the LDNPA LCA defines the Lowther Valley as "a broad, gentle, upland limestone valley characterised by the course of the River Lowther, which runs through extensive areas of parkland and pastoral farmland, interspersed with moorland and large patches of woodland" (LDNP, 2008, 98). According to the report's classification, the landscape's 'distinctive character' is constituted by the rolling farmland and woodland and the

'historical' villages, particularly the 13th century planned village of Askham and the 18th century designed village of Lowther. Geologically the majority of the area is composed of limestone, as seen by the limestone outcrops of Burtree scar and Knipe scar, with granite present in significant quantities around Shap which is home to a quarrying industry.

Surprisingly, therefore, little attention has been paid to it, or its wider surroundings, by archaeologists. Other than discussions of 'prehistoric' landscapes or recent tourism, academic investigations of the wider area of the Lake District, in terms of landscape archaeology and memory, are lacking; except from publications specifically covering the prehistoric period (Evans, 2008, 49-50). The ongoing heritage project at Lowther castle is bringing more attention to the area and helping to highlight the historical nature of the landscape; examining wider change during such a process provides many opportunities for archaeological insight. Whilst the intertwining of memory and landscape in the surrounding area allows for an exploration of the past of the present, the accelerating change at Lowther Castle and Park not only reveals more of their memorial importance but also highlights the effects that the present can have on the past (Olivier, 2004). The variety of archaeological features in the Lowther Valley is a wider general reflection of the archaeology of the Lake District, a wealth of material the study of which this smaller-scale project hopes to promote.

1.2 Theoretical background of the study

This section focuses on the theoretical background to combining landscape, time and memory in terms of archaeological interpretation and representation. There is a growing mass of archaeological literature which covers various aspects of the ways in which memory, landscape and time can interlink and why these are important considerations when forming interpretations.

'Landscape' is a difficult term to define and it seems most true to say that the "meaning of landscape shifts by the context and by the background of the users" (Antrop, 2013, 13). In this study, 'landscape' covers everything that exists within the defined geographical area, trees, humans, sheep, gravestones and megaliths alike! Landscape archaeology, in its attempts to reveal the past nature of a landscape, can often end up plotting points on a map and compiling a complementary gazetteer of sites; this is archaeology by "order and location" (Lowenthal, 1975, 29). Whilst this is an important and useful activity for beginning any archaeological study, an ordering of these landscape features in time and space, with a little embellished description, is sometimes the closest the reader gets to interpretation; as the most unusual pieces of the past are remembered, so they come to represent that landscape's past, if not the landscape itself, in the reader's mind (Lowenthal 1975, 28). But, as many have pointed out, a vision of the material landscape as containing islands of the past surrounded by a sea of the present, an unimportant and troublesome sea which merely erodes the precious outcrops of the past, is misguided; any landscape is experienced in the present and such islands of the past are not stuck at a given point in time, they have been existing and changing for decades and continue to do so (Barrett, 1999, 22; Olivier, 2004).

With a landscape being perceived in the present moment, the possibility for it to consist of an array of features of various ages gives the viewer differing senses of pasts which are not quite past (Witmore, 2008; Holtorf & Williams, 2006, 235), an overriding feeling of the landscape suggesting every aspect of time, past, present and future, simultaneously through memory and imagination (B Bender, 2002; Olivier, 2004). Therefore, archaeological studies aiming to place data firmly in a past landscape not only run the risk of overlooking fragments of the past in the present, they also misrepresent the changing nature of the landscape and the various possible past and present perceptions of it, all of which leads to narrow and increasingly similar archaeological interpretations (B Bender, 2002; Olivier, 2004). Whilst

the landscape phenomenology approach is based on subjective experience, highlighting the importance of the senses and emotions as part of perception, its interpretations often fall down because they are objectively applied to the past from the present without recognising the changing nature of the landscape or the potential perceptual differences between inhabitants (Barrett & Ko, 2009). But subjectivity is integral to landscapes, as Schama notes, "landscape is the work of the mind. It is scenery built up as much from the strata of memory as from layers of rock" (1995, 6-7); so, with its ability to retain the material quality of archaeology in the landscape and explore the potential of its subjective experience, perhaps memory can fill the interpretative gaps.

Before a detailed examination of archaeology and memory can begin, the question of what 'memory' is and how it exists must be briefly tackled. A popular perception of memory is that it is a store of information and experience, much like a computer hard drive, so that when something is remembered it is simply plucked from a given recess of the brain and brought into consciousness; however, scientific and psychological studies have shown that remembering involves creating a new conscious experience from the activity of nerve cells whose physical forms have been influenced by perception of previous experience (Schwarzel, 2006). Nerve cells in the brain are constantly forming and dismantling themselves to create or destroy physical connections between each other, whilst the junctions between two cells which make these connections possible are also continually being altered; it is this dynamic flux, the changing physical landscape of the brain, which can best be thought of as 'memory' (Bonhoeffer, 2002; Soderling, 2000). This means that 'experience', 'imagination' and 'memory', all separate terms with their own connotations, are processes that are far more similar than commonly thought and that perceptions are not remembered in static isolation but in the context of past fragments and future figments (Schacter et al. 2012). This view of memory and remembering has significant ramifications for archaeological study.

In examining the links between memory and material culture, archaeologists have increasingly recognised that trying to separate the human from the landscape or artefact is unhelpful and that experiencing involves and affects all parties; a landscape or artefact, therefore, does not 'contain' memory but holds a potential to create and influence memory in the brain (Jones, 2007, 7). This lets 'the perceived' and 'the perceiving' combine to redefine each other and subjectively create a new object as a new memory. This process is highly subjective as the manner in which this potential is realised depends upon the person's existing and changing memory of past experiences, experiences themselves altered further due to the creation of a new memory; this links landscape and time together in memory (Burstrom, 2014). This growing appreciation of experience and memory as highly complex processes that dispel the idea of perceptions and materials being divided into subjective and objective categories has involved much criticism of Halbwachs' famous ideas surrounding objective 'historical memory' and subjective 'collective memory'; this framework fails to recognise the complexity and variability of the ways in which individuals within societies remember the present and the past (Halbwachs, 1980, 50-87; Crane, 1997).

Over recent years archaeology has increasingly involved memory in its studies of the past and present, with memories both in and of landscapes being used to form deeper interpretations which not only suggest past actions in the landscape but also past remembering, often focusing on how the material traces of the past in the present can use memory to inform understandings of how past peoples in a landscape may have viewed 'their' pasts (Holtorf & Williams, 2006, 237-240). Olivier (2004) argues that the changing present experience of the landscape and the memories created by it ultimately changes the content of the past and alters the probability of how it may be perceived in the future; it would seem then that understanding the roles of memory in the present landscape is vital for opening up the possibilities of subsequent pasts (Witmore, 2008). Holtorf's study of the 'life-history' of

megaliths examined the material evidence of their re-use over time alongside how this and they may have been experienced and remembered in the changing landscape over the thousands of years of their existence, showing how these experiences through time mix to give a deeper interpretation of the megaliths than if they were simply considered to be dead pieces of a past landscape (Holtorf, 1998).

As memory is becoming recognised as a crucial aspect of archaeological understandings and interpretations, due to its ability to experientially connect landscape and time whilst realising their changing nature, so new ways of interpreting landscapes through memory are emerging; one of these is the 'memoryscape' (Butler, 2008). A memoryscape is "a landscape interpreted and imagined using the memories of others" (Butler, 2008, 223), and is not just concerned with using memory to allow experiential interpretation of a landscape in its present and past forms, but also to let memories recorded on various media, situated in the landscape in which they were created, act as the portrayers of its history (Butler, 2008). Basu's study of memoryscapes in Sierra Leone shows that experiencing material sites in landscapes, whether memorials, trees, buildings etc., highlights the competition between memories of past, present and future which is an important part of the various understandings of the past and present of said landscapes; this competition is fuelled by the differing representations of the material sites that the changing memoryscapes provide (Basu, 2007, 231-259).

In light of the above, considering how to represent archaeological interpretations of and in landscapes, within the context of an ever-changing memory of both, is a vital aspect of how the interpretation itself is experienced and remembered. The mainstay of much archaeological and historical interpretation and narrative, chronological timelines and their ideas of 'linear time' have come in for recent criticism (see Lucas, 2005, 1-32; Olivier, 2004). Much of this has revolved around the fixed, stereotypical identities that chronological groupings often create with terms like 'prehistoric', 'Roman' and 'Medieval' coming to dominate, if

subconsciously, subsequent interpretations and suggest notions of 'progression' through time (Olivier, 2004; for an example of such see LUAU, 1997, 23-25). Indeed, simply the linear nature of a drawn timeline and its strong representation of the 'arrow of time' is part of the problem as it creates swathes of 'empty' time expecting to be filled and prioritises 'original' dates of artefacts and features, leading to static landscape identities which belie their changing nature through time (Barrett, 1999, 21-23). In setting out a new vision for representing existence, physicist David Mermin imagines a mass of interweaving strands of individual experience freed from the constraints of the abstract framework of four-dimensional space-time, stating that people should think differently to separate experience from its measurement (Mermin, 2014). However, achieving this, just like overcoming the issues of chronological representations, is not that straightforward; we have these measures for a reason, they are useful tools that have become embedded within societies, so embedded that most of us subconsciously perceive time and order events in a linear fashion from left to right (A Bender, 2014). Archaeology and history, therefore, should not be looking to dispose of chronology, but instead use the information that it provides to present interpretations of landscape and time in ways that better realise the subjectivity and variability of experience, such as memoryscapes (Basu, 2007, p256-259; Olivier, 2004).

Overall, this brief introduction to the archaeological and wider theory surrounding the study of landscape and memory its links to time, particularly in terms of representing interpretations, provides the background to determining the methodology to be used and establishes the context within which the various material sites of potential memory in the Lowther Valley landscape will be interpreted, represented and discussed.

1.3 Methodology

The majority of this study is desk-based research focussing on archive records, journal articles, archaeological databases (mainly English Heritage's (EH) Pastscape), the English Heritage Archive (EHA), Historic Environment Records (HER), survey reports, particularly from Oxford Archaeology North, and other organisational reports. The landscape itself and the natural and man-made features, monuments and memorials within it will be observed first hand where possible. Analysis of the landscape will be organised in a spatial manner, from the edges of the study area inwards toward Lowther Park, rather than a temporal one, for reasons made clear in the theoretical background. Although certain sites will inevitably be analysed in detail, such analysis shall always attempt to connect a site with its surroundings and the more widely experienced landscape; this follows that basic premise of treating the entire landscape as an interconnected "assemblage bound by context" (Williams, 2014), albeit a context that is changing and is capable of changing itself. This approach to analysing and interpreting the landscape ties in with the use of a novel approach to its representation: 'memory mapping'.

Another growing phenomenon, memory maps seek to put present landscapes into context via the memories of those who have experienced their change by representing their experiences of and associations with physical places in a given landscape (Balderstone, 2014). The content and media are often similar to that found within memoryscapes, recorded oral histories, filmed reminiscences and photographs, but these are represented on an interactive digital map rather than being experienced in the landscape itself (Balderstone, 2014). With places on the map being marked by memories rather than by dates or temporal identities, the map allows the user to "move beyond the notion of a simple landscape, with a uniform and inevitable chronological narrative" (Harvey, 2013, 154), and realise the complex interpretations of past and present that are possible when experiencing the landscape through

recollections of others' experiences. Although used in historical and geographical studies, such a method has not been attempted in an archaeological context.

After identifying archaeological and memorial features from the desk-based research and then analysing these in the context of the theoretical background surrounding landscape and memory, a memory mapping approach will then be attempted as a novel way of representing the archaeological interpretations arising from the overall study.

2. Findings and Analysis

The Lowther Valley, as defined in the previous chapter, is a landscape which contains a vast amount of archaeological potential for memory. This area has been part of the Lowther estates for centuries and although the present day heritage project at Lowther Castle seeks to provide a focal point for historical, archaeological and heritage-based interest in the wider area, according to The Lowther Castle and Gardens Trust [LCGT] (2008), the interactions of generations of Lowthers with the wider landscape is important for understanding the variety of materials experienced within the Castle and Gardens. The Lowther Valley can be seen as a rich archaeological assemblage in its own right, without the remnants of successive Lowther efforts. This vast assemblage has changed along with the landscape, establishing the differing contexts in which memorial activities were and are undertaken; without the memories of its surroundings Lowther Castle would now evoke a different array of experiential possibilities.

2.1 Memory within the Lowther Valley

This section shall consider this wider context of memory in the Lowther Valley, working from the outside inwards to Lowther, considering a rough area at a time (see map). In each case the archaeology of an area shall be discussed in terms of memory and its links to the wider context of the valley and the Lowthers, although their approaches to this memory, especially at Lowther Castle, will be examined in far more detail in the next section. This summary of the material experiences and memories that pervade, and pervaded, the area aims to give a single, coherent entity: a working context for the following Lowther-centric section.

2.1.1 Shap and its surroundings

Situated at the southern tip of the study area, Shap is the largest settlement within the strict definition of the Lowther Valley (Penrith sits on the edge of the northern border) and the surrounding landscape contains much archaeological material (OA North, 2005). The ruined Shap Abbey sits just a mile from Shap nestled in the valley on the banks of the Lowther river. The site was founded around 1200 and, after the dissolution, was abandoned in 1540, after which much of it was demolished and the stone put to use in building up Shap, for example in the surviving 16th century Market Cross hall (Colvin & Gilyard-Beer, 1-16). In the 19th century, as part of the Lowther Estate, the 5th Earl of Lonsdale removed even more of the surviving stonework for use in landscaping and decorating the expanding gardens of Lowther Castle (see 2.2.2). The experiences of those involved in these activities of re-use, over a long period of time, involving removing, transporting and then building with the stone, would have slowly changed the potential of the abbey site and the stones themselves to create and re-create memories, thus also altering the landscape at various places along with the locals' connections with and memories of these places.

Fig.2: West Tower of Shap Abbey in the landscape. Photograph: author, July 2014

The striking west tower still stands and has remained a notable feature in the remote landscape for more than five-hundred years since its construction was overseen by Abbot Richard Redman; today it stands as much

as a memorial to him as to the Abbey (see Fig.2). The fact that the tower has seemingly survived much local change helps to give it a timeless nature when experienced, becoming almost a fixed point in the present landscape recognisable to locals and walkers alike, but one that is not quite separate from the ruins surrounding it with the allusions to a distant medieval past and the inevitable decay that time brings; set against the landscape, a view of the tower is very likely to be perceived as memorable (Lowenthal, 1975). Amidst all this, a surviving blank stone coffin still makes up part of the Abbey floor, its occupant forgotten; instead, it is the abbey's current setting within a peaceful and seemingly 'timeless' landscape that has the greatest potential to create memory in the present (Fairclough, 1999, 128).

Time has been even more fickle when it comes to the Shap Stone Avenue. Today, a few standing stones and a damaged stone circle are all that seemingly remains of the prehistoric stone avenue which once stretched for more than one-and-a-half miles (Simpson, 1859). There are very few remaining, let alone standing; one such is the Goggleby Stone, a granite cup-marked megalith which is still proudly jutting out from a farmer's field; to the eyes it appears a material beacon of time immemorial. However, appearances may or may not deceive: the Goggleby Stone's potential for evoking memory may be enhanced by the glittering Shap Pink granite that constitutes it, but here the variability of individual experience and memory becomes crucial to remembering; many locals remember that this stone has not always been upright, but many visitors would not have such memories, leading to different perceptions in the present and so varied memories of the stone's place in the landscape and its interaction with time. In the 1960's Lancaster Archaeological Unit decided to excavate and re-erect the stone after it fell over, the experience, if not performance, of which would have created new memories and altered perceptions in the minds of local onlookers as their present landscape changed in a manner that may have been portrayed as reminiscent of an act originally carried out deep in the past (Pearson, 2006, 43). The identity

of the stone within the landscape, perhaps as a representative of the presumed prehistoric processional avenue, now fragmented and forgotten (Simpson, 1859), would have changed during this process, re-creating memories and the landscape simultaneously in the context of the attempted maintenance of both; such 'heritage' concerns are equally present in the landscape at Lowther Castle where decisions, made by the LGCT (2008), on what to conserve and how to do so are redefining experiences of the landscape and its time in a similar fashion.

Kemp Howe, a great stone circle which was supposedly the southern terminus of the stone avenue, is a sight to behold, if a somewhat unusual one, a semi-circle jutting out from beside the railway line a mile or so south-east of Shap; the better part of the circle was destroyed by the Victorian railway line (Simpson, 1859). The stone avenue once linked Kemp Howe to sites north west of Shap, including the bowl barrow 'Skellaw Hill' (the 'Hill of Skulls'); however these two places in the landscape underwent very different experiences in the 19th century. Whilst Skellaw Hill was the subject of antiquarian interest and excavation, which revealed human remains, many of the granite stones of Shap Avenue were being dynamited as part of land enclosure and Kemp Howe was being 'altered' to accommodate the railway. This differential interest in memory in the area at that time suggests differing experiences of the landscape by locals and differing abilities of the material within the landscape to create cultural memories of the past that were meaningful (Kansteinter, 2002); many landowners saw these monuments to the past as mere present obstructions to be blasted into oblivion, whilst some individuals and antiquarians sought to investigate and record fragments of that landscape's material memory, just as Lady Lowther had done in drawing a sketch of the stone avenue a century earlier (Burl, 1993, 48). Such experiences can link places through time in a similar way. East of Shap sits Hardendale Nab hill, slowly being consumed by a limestone quarry, which was excavated in the 1980's to reveal a large funerary site showing cremation

and inhumation usage throughout the Bronze-Age before further re-use took place in the Roman or Anglo-Saxon period (Williams, 1986). This funerary re-use, a re-experiencing of the site and re-creation of memory, is indicative of the relationship between individuals and the landscape that drives phases of interest and disinterest, determining how the physical past permeates into any given present. Such phases of interest can obtain their own memory links between time and space; just as the antiquarian William Stukeley speaks of horrendous weather conditions when investigating Shap Avenue in the 18th century (Stukeley, 1882, 237-242), so John Williams remembers the troublesome weather as the "Shap experience" when excavating Hardendale Nab more than two centuries later (Williams, 1986, 34).

Experience of the landscape past and present is not just about visiting certain sites, it is also about moving between them. Haweswater reservoir, south-west of Shap on the edge of the Lowther Valley, hides the sunken 'lost village' of Mardale which was flooded in 1937 to create the reservoir. Within Shap cemetery, a few miles north-east, sits the 'Mardale burial ground', a specially enclosed corner constructed using the dry-stone walls common to the area; the cemetery contains the remains of all those interred at Mardale church which were transported and reburied at Shap before the flooding commenced. Before 1736 there was no cemetery in Mardale and so bodies were carried to Shap via the 'old corpse road', now a popular walking route with stereotypically beautiful Lake District views (Hindle, 1998, 9-12). So, experiencing a very similar route through a changing landscape perceived during three differing times shows the altering potentials for memory through time and space; from traversing a rough medieval path with a coffin to Shap churchyard as a matter of course, to transferring many interred remains to the specially set-side corner of Shap cemetery, outside of Shap, staring down from the fell at a landscape that was about to drastically change along with its memory, to walking the 'old corpse road' route over the fell, taking in the view that the reservoir is now such a part of, trying to physically retrace some of the history

remembered in walking routes, digital media and local tales, the experiences of individuals in a changing landscape create memories that hold the landscape together in the present.

2.1.2 Brougham and Eamont Bridge

The small villages of Brougham and Eamont Bridge occupy the northern tip of the Lowther valley, just south of the market town of Penrith and tucked just to the east of the M6. The ruins of Brougham Castle sit at the confluence of the Lowther and Eamont rivers atop a raised rectangular earthwork, the remnants of the Roman fort of Brocavum. Much of the old stonework and material from the Roman fort were re-used in the construction of the castle, a most notable present example being an inscribed Roman tombstone that is set into a passage roof in the keep (Summerson 1999, 18). Ironically the perceived lack of memorial awareness surrounding its re-use is one of the reasons that it can act as a focus of remembering today, its largely undamaged inscription maintaining its potential to re-create memories of past remembering.

The connection between Brougham and 'Roman' memory has been remembered and strengthened in modern times as many Roman altars and tombstones found in the vicinity have ended up being stored or displayed at Brougham Castle in the present. In the 1960's an excavation half a mile east of Brougham Castle unearthed a Roman burial ground containing more than two-hundred burials, mostly cremations, alongside fragments of inscribed stones; records show that tombstones had previously been removed, some now present at Brougham Castle (Cool, 2004, 9-43; Collingwood 1983, 772-788). Brougham Castle is now experienced as an overt focus for 'Roman' memory in the area, its proud display of tombstones, altars and milestones that once would have been casually incorporated into its stonework or re-used elsewhere, in one case as a well cover in a neighbouring field, giving this materially medieval site a large potential to evoke 'Roman' associations in the minds of visitors. At the same time,

the castle's material ruins remember a time when all this Roman material memory was still concentrated in the landscape, re-used in the castle structure, dispersed and forgotten by those who lived with it. The local antiquarian interest in time of the 19th century did not rediscover these memories, instead it created fresh memories from the potential still held by the materials, the tombstones etc. (Jones 1999, 8-9). This process of remembering increased the strength of the ties between Roman memory and the Brougham landscape, in itself further entangling the present with past and changing the way in which the landscape itself is experienced, but this was achieved only in a local sense. Many Roman artefacts and tombstones from further afield, such as in Penrith to the north or Kirkby Thore to the east, found their way to Lowther Castle where they changed and were changed by the surroundings, imbuing the Castle with a greater potential to evoke memories of Roman landscapes and times whilst themselves being re-created by experiences remembering them as objects in the Lowther galleries (Collingwood, 759-771).

At Eamont Bridge, half a mile to the west of Brougham Castle, a complex of intriguing prehistoric and modern memorials sit between the M6 and the village, separated by a modern B-road (see Fig.3).

Fig.3: Map of Eamont Bridge with Mayburgh and King Arthur's Round Table henges. (Copyright Google 2014)

Mayburgh henge maintains a strong connection with the landscape as its earthwork contains thousands of cobbles from the river Lowther as part of the wall structure. Although a single standing stone, and now a lambing pen and several sheep, occupy the centre of the henge, antiquarian and local reports suggest that there were once more standing stones that were removed and re-used in local buildings; an act remembered by a local legend which encouraged mystical notions of spirits (Barnatt & Edmonds, 2002). Whether this communal memory was borne out of fear or respect for the monument's memory of the past, it does signify that some locals were interested and certainly affected by the potential of the henge to create memories of a mystical place in time; whilst the modern experience of the henge occurs in a very different landscape, one framed by main roads and traffic noise, some visitors still comment upon its atmospheric and magical nature in Tripadvisor reviews, showing the potential of the site to be similarly experienced in different times.

As is evident from its name, King Arthur's Round Table henge is an even more obvious example of this ability for the landscape to join past and present together, mixing all sorts of memories in a haphazard process that still attributes Arthurian qualities to a far older monument. The revival in Arthurian legend during the 17th century, along with its round shape and a traditional association between King Arthur and the North West, may have led to its naming; some suggest that it was seen as King Arthur's supposed jousting arena (Evans, 2008, 49-50). Experiences of this site have been changing through time, from being viewed as a site of national legend to being materially altered by attempts to landscape its earthworks into a tea garden, roads piled through half of its outer edge and a war memorial being erected in the corner of its site, but the legendary associations of its name seem to have transcended all of these, apparently as a greater or lesser fragment of the individuals memories created at and around the site during such landscape change. Today Lowther Lodge, a Gothic gatehouse to the Lowther Holiday Park, originally to the Castle, sits at the end of Earl Henry's Drive

right next to the supposed remains of Little Round Table and opening out onto the road through Eamont bridge which passes alongside King Arthur's Round Table. Built during the late 19th century, at the height of local and Lowther antiquarian activities, the Lodge offers a view of the local landscape and the frequent experience of travelling down the tree-lined driveway and past the earthwork, for the third and fifth Earls at least, would have provided plenty of opportunity for memories of the past to be created and re-created, both potentially fuelling and fuelled by an antiquarian interest in time and the landscape and so influencing the Lowthers wider antiquarian activities in the area, especially in the fifth Earl's case at Lowther Castle (see 2.2.2).

The monolithic Eden Millennium Monument possesses a multitude of memorial identities being simultaneously a local commemoration of the Millennium, a Christian remembrance of Christ's 2000th birthday, a modern homage to Mayburgh henge and a monument to the perceived nature of time itself; these identities are made clear and explained in the signboard which sits next to the stone (see Fig.4). Materially it is a fifty tonne block of Shap granite and

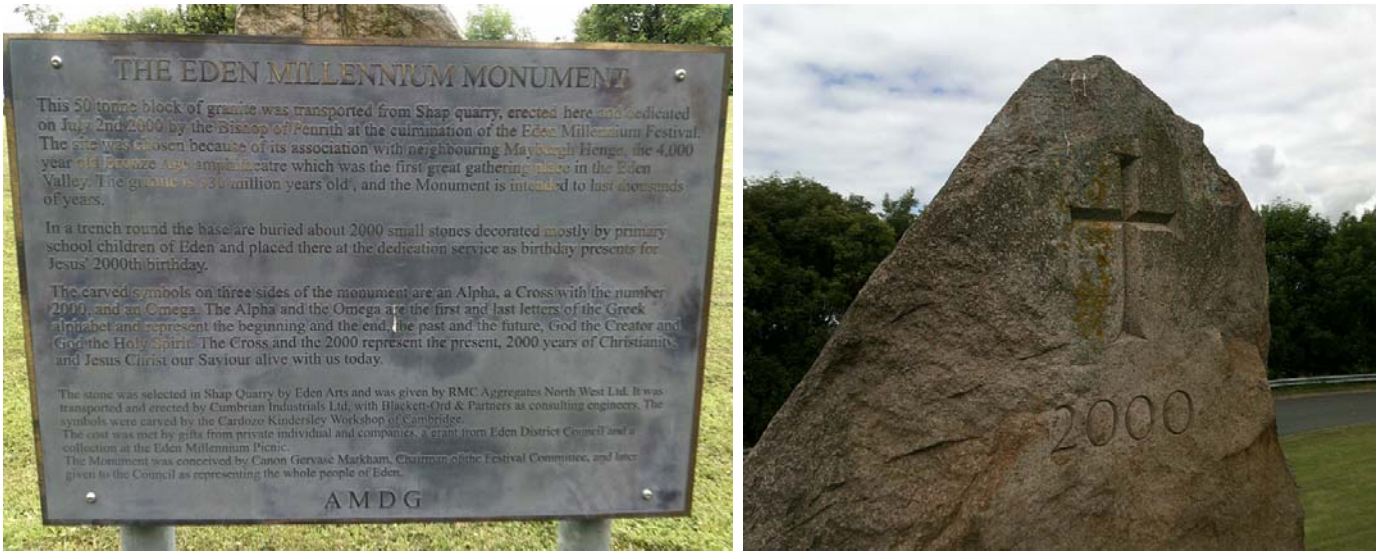

Fig.4: a, Eden Millennium Monument explanatory signboard; b, Eden Millennium Monument as seen from 'front' (roadside) with cross inscription face showing. Photographs: author, July 2014

although this may historically associate it, in the minds of some, with the standing stones around Shap, in its erectors' minds its selection is due more to its materiality and perceived

permanence, a quality experienced most strongly in the present via the signed intention that the monument is intended to last thousands of years (see Fig.4a).

The experiences involved in making this monument would have created an array of memories, from the painting of pebbles by schoolchildren as birthday presents for Jesus to fill the base (see Fig.4a), the changing local memory of the landscape during the stone's erection and unveiling, forging links between the 'new' and 'old' landscapes, whilst the experiences of the monument today have the potential to re-create these past memories. From a visitor's perspective, all this individual memory, physically hidden beneath the stone, becomes part of a collective memory for the future, displayed on the signboard with Christian connotations. This idea of differential experiences of creating and re-creating memory persists in the present landscape at Lowther Castle where the work of tradesmen, volunteers, and Lowther family members alike in the ongoing heritage project as these individual experiences all form a crucial part of the continuous re-creating and re-interpretation of the landscape, a process that is perceived by visitors and experienced as a collective memory of 'Lowther' (Assman, 1995). The Eden Millennium Monument represents a very recent local interest in remembering and the landscape and the Lowther family are seeking to continue this, if not build upon or use it, via the LCGT (2008) at Lowther Castle.

The other modern site of memory in the area, the Boer and WWII war memorial next to King Arthur's Round Table, is unusual in itself for portraying individual memory through portraits, although this is not unheard of for Boer War memorials (Mytum, 162-164), and for explicitly being sited on a "historic site". The pedestal tells of four local men who volunteered to fight in the Boer War, two of whom were killed in action at Faber's Put; these two men have their portraits carved in bronze on the cross shaft. On another face of the pedestal there is a mention of the Second World War and three men who were lost in it, but there is no mention whatsoever of World War I. A rarity in themselves, Boer War memorials showed a growing

national interest in military commemoration (Mytum, 162-164), but the individuality and historic associations afforded to this particular memorial suggests that the local interest in memory and remembrance was already strong; the experience of visiting the memorial naturally brought one into contact with the earthwork henge and to experience its potential to evoke memory as well. The lack of World War I memorials in the local and wider landscape, apart from a Celtic Cross in Shap churchyard commemorating the fallen of its parish, is unusual given that the fifth Earl Hugh recruited his own Lonsdale 'pals' battalion from the local area; it was largely destroyed on the first day of the Battle of the Somme and there is a Lonsdale cemetery at Authuille in France (Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 2014). The memorial plaques in local churches, including at Lowther, list men by name and no mention is made of the 'Lonsdale' regiment, even at Lowther, so that experiences of 'World War I memory' are individual, largely discrete and spread over the landscape.

2.1.3 Clifton

Clifton, just south of Eamont Bridge, is a village containing more conventional memorial activity. Proclaimed by its road sign as the site of the last battle fought on English soil, the Battle of Clifton Moor in 1745, a skirmish between English and Scottish armies, Clifton contains an open piece of ground which serves as part of the memorial to the presumed battlefield. This memorial commemorates the battle and directs the reader to separate English and Scottish memorials; the English one a conventional, if far more recently erected, churchyard stone memorial, the Scottish one simply a tree. The Rebel's Tree, alone in its landscape of farming fields and railway line, is supposedly where the Scottish dead were buried immediately after the battle; today many stereotypically Scottish mementos were left at its base. This differentially nationalistic use of memory forgets the individual dead soldiers and imposes a divided feel upon the landscape of the town, the memorials being at opposite ends; this is memory working to modify the experience of a landscape, excluding 'the losers'

to what once was a lonely but is now a readily recognisable spot. To commemorate the 250th anniversary of the battle, the then Earl of Lonsdale, the 7th Earl, planted a tree near to the 'official' central memorial, describing his act on a plaque located there.

The Lowther Valley landscape, taken as an amalgamated whole, provides a rich and varied context for the more focussed, individual memorial practices occurring in Lowther Castle and Church. Common themes exist throughout, whether in the material re-use of older memorial stonework, as seen at Shap and Brougham, the creation of new memorials which link landscape and memory, for example at Eamont Bridge, or in the experiences linked to remembered movements within the landscape. The overarching question of interest in and awareness of time and memory shows a more varied answer. Individual places in each area stand out as being remembered more often than others, as the multiple phases of re-use at Hardendale Nab cairn show when compared to the abandon with which Shap's stone monuments were destroyed even during antiquarian times, whilst others, such as Eamont Bridge, seem to have their interest in memory kindled by the landscape itself and maintained by those inhabitants and visitors who experienced it. Whilst examples of Lowther interest in time and memory appear in many places in the surrounding landscape, is memory at work in the same way at Lowther Castle itself? Is the same level of interest in time and the past maintained over time, or is this more variable as the findings in the wider landscape suggest that it might be?

2.2 Memory within Lowther Park

Lowther Park occupies an area of approximately 5.7km^2 at the centre of the region defined as the Lowther valley, including Lowther Castle and its gardens (see map, LUAU, 1997). Home to members of the Lowther family for a thousand years, this tiny area of the landscape has been the focus of much of the memory surrounding the family over this time period (ibid).

This section examines how this vast array of memory exhibits itself in the current landscape of the park and how this has been influenced by various Lowthers over the generations in the ways that these memories might or might not portray meaning today.

2.2.1 St Michael's Church and the Lowther Mausoleum

The first port of call in this landscape is not the castle 'ruin' itself, instead it is St Michael's church which sits opposite the castle in the North park on the road to Askham, commanding a spectacular view over the River Lowther, its forests and the distant Askham fell (see Fig.5). In its churchyard, on the edge of the slope down toward the river, is the Lowther mausoleum; this might be a family mausoleum but it is primarily a monument to one man, its creator William 2nd Earl of Lonsdale. The mausoleum, of stereotypical Gothic architecture, was finished in 1857 and in 1863 a marble sculpture of the 2nd Earl, by the sculptor E.B. Stephens, was added to its upper floor; the earl is seated, wistfully staring at out of the window toward the church rather than out of the other window which frames the magnificent view. Whether William, who died in 1872, intended the burial vault, on the lower floor, to be used by later members of the family is unclear, but it is unclear as to whether it contains any remains except his, possibly also those of his grandson the 4th Earl St George Lowther (Owen, 1990, 401).

Fig.5: Lowther Mausoleum with landscape view in the background, the Quale Mound can be seen to the left. Photograph: author, July 2014

The mausoleum was constructed right next to an existing mound known locally as the "Quale burial ground" (Bailey & Cramp, 1988); very little information is available about this mound except that in the mid-19th century, around the time of the mausoleum's construction, three 10th century hogback stones and parts of an 8th century cross were recovered from it; one of the hogbacks was described as "half-buried" (Bailey & Cramp, 1988). Interestingly, 'Quale' is the name of the village now known as 'Whale' which sits in the south-western corner of Lowther Park; in 1369 Margaret de Quale, wife of Hugh Lowther III, died at Lowther where her husband had recently erected a Pele Tower; it seems likely that this mound contained a memorial connection with the dead of Whale village, quite a profound one given its prominence in the churchyard landscape. Today the mound is topped by the granite cross gravestones of Hugh the 5th Earl and his wife Grace, surrounded by unusual low wall structure, and the gravestones of a few other recent Lowthers (see Fig.6). Whether this mound ever did contain burials of distant Lowthers, for William 2nd Earl at least it must have held links with the past; the fact that half a hogback was visibly protruding from it, and that at around this time antiquarian activity started to increase in the area, suggests that it possessed a memory to be respected. The fact that William built his mausoleum next to it, and not on top of it, perhaps shows that his monument was to be strongly associated with material memory of 'ancient' burial whilst still preserving it, using it as a means to bolster his now dominant structure in the churchyard landscape. By the mid 20th century, when the present gravestones began to cover Quale mound, perhaps this memorial association with time and place was now done with respect to the mausoleum rather than the mound; no visible signs of the past existed in it by that time and it would have seemed an open, green and inviting spot which still held onto the impressive memorial association of the mausoleum, even if its style was then a memory of a past fashion. Today this is very much the modern 'Lowther corner' of

the churchyard, a point in the landscape which seems to have forgotten more distant times; these are found in the church itself.

Fig.6: The Quale Burial Mound topped by the memorials to the fifth Earl and his wife. Photograph: author, July 2014

In the church porch lie three 10th century hogback stones and part of a tenth-century grave cover, all of which came from the Quale burial mound, although the grave cover was removed during the 20th century, not the 19th, even though its whereabouts were known at that time (Bailey & Cramp, 1988). Two 8th century carved stone cross shafts were also found near to the Quale mound in the mid-19th century but these ended up being added to the extensive collection of sculptures within Lowther Castle whereas the hogback stones were simply moved inside the church, along with an 11th century cross head and a 12th century grave cover which now sit in the north transept (Bailey & Cramp, 1988). One of the 8th century crosses is now in the Great Court of the British Museum, in two fragments; the far larger fragment, the main shaft, was bought in the Lowther Castle auction of 1947 but the smaller fragment was also found by the buyer, not in the castle but as part of the Edwardian rock garden; the present rock garden contains a couple of pieces of Shap Abbey stonework. Although the movement into safe keeping of these pre-conquest memorials in the 19th century shows a definite interest in material memory of the past at this time, it also shows this interest may well have been

present much earlier; if hogback stones were protruding from a well-known burial ground in the 19th century then their presumed presence in earlier times suggests that they could have been part of memorial re-use for generations of Lowthers, features in the landscape that came to take on a new memory particular to that corner of the churchyard.

St Michael's church epitomises the wishes of certain Lowthers for their family to be remembered. Dating back to at least the 11th century, and probably earlier as the hogbacks and crosses suggest, the church underwent extensive reconstruction and was expanded in the 17th century; a plan of 1666 by Sir Christopher Lowther describes the south transept as "the burying place of the noble family" (D/LONS/L11/9/2). At that time a memorial to his grandfather, Sir Richard Lowther, shown recumbent in full length, sat next to a stone floor slab decorated with a cross and sword, probably the burial place of one the medieval Lowther knights (Owen, 1990, 26-34; see Fig.7). As part of Sir Richard's wall memorial, in keeping with Sir Christopher's "noble" assertions, is an engraving of his family line, or pedigree; this memorial association with family is also one concerned with the nobility of past family, as best expressed by its situation next to the material memory of an equally noble ancestor, a knight of the realm. Their differing materials, decorations and ages are drawn together by their proximity in the memorial landscape of the church interior, the memories and associations which connect them also connect their different time periods in the present to strengthen the memorial, 'timeless' nature of their experience.

John Lowther 1st Viscount Lonsdale, Sir Christopher's son, enacted his plans and rebuilt the main walls of the church, leaving only a few of the 12th century pillars intact. The south transept he renovated would fill up with more ostentatious memorials to various Lowthers during the 17th and 18th centuries, but after that the type of memory exhibited in memorials

Fig.7: Group of memorials in St Michael's Church: The engraved medieval floor tombstone is flanked by later elaborate 17th C memorials. Photograph: author, July 2014

began to change, becoming more personally related and less to do with family memory; this is perhaps more noticeable as these later memorials fill the north transept and walls rather than Sir Christopher's designated space for family memory which was already overflowing. Some Lowthers, however, were less concerned with the memory of their ancestors or contemporaries. Sir James Lowther, 1st Earl of Lonsdale, or 'wicked Jimmy', cared for nothing except for winning elections, often via corrupt and ruthless means. Disliked by all, he had no wish to pay for memorials either for his brother or his distant relations and it was left to his successor, William 'the Good', 1st Earl of Lonsdale (of the second creation as Sir James had no children), to rectify this perceived carelessness (Owen, 1990, 383).

William the Good set about erecting memorials for all those, as he saw it, that his predecessor had forgotten; he even gave James himself a memorial in St Michael's. One of these men was Sir Christopher Lowther, 1st Baronet who lived and died in Whitehaven a town that he built to design to exploit trade and coal mining, his business expertise expanding the family estate

and funding its coffers for generations (Owen, 1990, 239). But Sir Christopher had no wish to be remembered, he did not particularly want a memorial and there was none where he was buried; this was something that William the Good could not abide by and a memorial was erected in Whitehaven (Owen, 1990, 383). This material remembering of an individual for his contribution to the family and to others, rather than for his enhancement of the family pedigree and name, shows a shift in how Lowthers remembered each other over the years, but the physical presence of the stone epigraphs, whether in St Michael's, Whitehaven, Yorkshire or London, ensured that no one forgot them as individuals or as a family. In this context, it is perhaps best to view the glut of Lowther memory at St Michael's (only two plaques do not mention Lowthers and they are both war memorials) as a memorial hub, a site with its own material memory of past worship and burial that has itself had been re-used and re-shaped along with the landscape of the churchyard, the whole site is now as much a curiosity of Lowther memory and remembering as it is a place of worship. Just as a 12th century sandstone cross in the churchyard sports a 19th century sundial, so the gradually increasing Lowther appropriation of past memories in their material forms, from burial mounds to hogbacks to coffin floor slabs, has entangled memories of all times together under the banner of Lowther, a name broadcast across the valley from the mausoleum and engrained into the minds of church visitors. This landscape contains memories of death just as it did a thousand years ago, but it has slowly been changed and re-formed and now it reminds onlookers that in this place all Lowthers, anywhere, cannot be forgotten.

2.2.2 Lowther Castle and Gardens

The shell of Lowther Castle dominates the immediately surrounding landscape, even if a 20th century growth in the number of forestry plantations has made it less visible from further afield (Owen, 1990, 384). The ongoing heritage project to stabilise the Castle structure and mimic areas of the 'lost' Gardens seeks to preserve aspects of the present landscape whilst

simultaneously remembering preserving remnants of its past; the "romantic decay of the Castle and its Gardens will be carefully preserved and enhanced... [to] give contemporary meaning to Lowther's history" according to the LCGT (2008, 11). The plan for the project emphasises the wish to expand current memories of Lowther, to introduce new connotations and associations to the surviving Castle stonework, to re-work it and its landscape into a an economically viable monument to Cumbria, tourism and heritage; in all this lies the hope that perceptions of mouldering extravagance and wastefulness will be forgotten in favour of those portraying popular and useful romanticism (LCGT, 2008). But the landscape is still at the heart of these memories, as the project plan proudly points out with its proclamation that the Lowther family have “lived on this site for more than 800 years" (LCGT, 2008, 6). Whether in abandoned rockeries, collapsed walls, disused barns, empty fields or dense woods, the landscape of Castle, Gardens and Park contains material memories of Lowther and Lowthers and their places in the world, both physical and metaphorical.

Despite its name, style and appearance, Lowther Castle was neither a defensive structure nor from the 14th century, its gothic style having been dreamt up in the 1790’s and built by 1806 as a suitably impressive residence to replace an earlier hall which had burned down (OA North 2007; Owen, 1990, 225). However, the first definite Lowther residence to be built on the site was a defensive structure as shown by an earthwork hidden amongst the wooded riverbank next to the Gardens (LUAU, 1997). Starting out as a wooden Motte and Bailey and then becoming a stone Pele tower in the 13th century, this structure served both as house and Scot-repellent during turbulent times characterised by frequent border raids; whether or not its 19th century counterpart was ever meant to doff its crenulated hats in deference to this material past, it perhaps begins to do so in the present as the current Lowther family assembles its timeline of building activity on the site and creates such associative memories in the process (LCGT, 2008).

But successive re-building, enhancements, expansions and re-location of the Lowther family seat have affected and currently affect the material memory of the landscape and the intangible memories of generations of its inhabitants. In the 17th century Sir John Lowther decided to rebuild the family home, moving it slightly northward and expanding it; to do this he had to move Lowther village so he demolished it and built Lowther Newtown further north (Owen, 1990, 209). Then, later in the 18th century, following a fire which destroyed the first home, Sir James Lowther planned to rebuild the family home, but on his plans Lowther Newtown rather got in the way of the view; the majority of this new village was therefore demolished and a new Lowther village built further east. Designed as a 'model village' by the architect Robert Adam, the village today still contains a small crescent and half a Greek cross, architectural features usually seen on a vaster scale in cities such as Bath, along with a small memorial to its erection.

Whilst Lowther Newtown, on the edge of Lowther Park, now resembles almost any other estate village, Lowther village is a striking landscape feature in its own right, a half-baked experiment in urban design for a countryside estate but one which has gladly persisted and been inhabited for more than two-hundred years. Its presence in the landscape retains a memory of the actions of 'wicked' Sir James, ironically a man unconcerned with family or individual memory outside of politics, actions which evoke many other memories of power and aspiration, as seen in the classical architecture, as well as change and upheaval, shown by the surviving earthworks of the original Lowther village in the Park (LUAU, 1997). Lowther has changed little since its creation, becoming in itself almost a monument to the landscape changes brought about by various members of the Lowther family; when the family wanted to build a new home it would move villages to do so, creating new ones which satisfied its whims as to how the landscape should appear, all the while increasing the material evidence

for Lowther influence and creating more places through which their pasts could be remembered.

After Lowther Castle was finished its interior required furnishing, a task which never seemed to end until its dismantlement, preferably with items redolent in memory of some sort. The auctions of 1947 saw the contents of the house being sold off and spread around the country and the wider world; whilst a few of these will be returned to the castle as part of a new gallery, the majority now lie in others' collections, their memories changed, their time at Lowther perhaps forgotten. An Egyptian granite bath is one of the peculiar survivors now found in the Gardens, like a giant ornamental bird bath, the memory of its place in the landscape having changed significantly from inside a Sculpture Room, with its connotations of cultural grandeur, to offsetting some conifers behind a mown path. Although many of its counterparts are now absent, largely forgotten in terms of the Lowther landscape, they would have been an integral part of the Castle's and family's memorial landscapes during the 19th century.

Aside from the countless portraits of Lowther family members in the library, whose walls were seemingly as packed with paintings as the church walls are with memorials, the billiard room also contained an array of portraits displayed as the 'Westmoreland Worthies' (Hall & Jewitt, 1876). Amongst this esteemed group, all hailing from the county, are the likes of Catherine Parr and William Hogarth (Hall & Jewitt, 1876). This collection is not only a reminder of an aristocratic and political tradition of promoting 'Worthies', as begun by 1st Viscount Cobham in 1734 at Stowe with his politically motivated 'Temple of British Worthies' (Colton, 1976), it is also a focus for the memory of the surrounding landscape of the county, remembering its residents deemed worthy and forgetting those of insufficient fame or taste for the family's liking. Two large sculpture galleries, located in the east and west wings of the house, held a wealth of material evidence for a deeper interest in the past

and the way it is remembered; this is most strikingly seen in the 19th century, particularly in notebooks of 1865 written by Hugh Lowther, the 5th Earl of Lonsdale, documenting some of the important artefacts in the galleries and in the Castle's other collections (D/LONS/L23/1/13/1865).

The Castle's collection contained numerous classical artworks and sculptures, collectibles, curios and antiquarian finds, including busts of Roman emperors, the "Olympian Meta" (D/LONS/L23/1/13/1865), recognised in terms of its historical and archaeological significance due to its use in the Ancient Olympic Games and re-use in Rome's Circus Maximus, more sculptures "dug out of the remains of Herculaneum" (D/LONS/L23/1/27/1899), and local artefacts including a ring from Shap Abbey, a "stone chopper... supposedly 2,000 years old" (D/LONS/L23/1/27/1899) from a field in neighbouring Askham, a bracelet from a skeleton excavated at Sleagill, just east of the Lowther valley, and a Roman stone from "near Lowther" (D/LONS/L23/1/27/1899). Most interestingly, an excavation of a barrow at Hackthorpe, half a mile east of Lowther, carried out by the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society (CWAAS), of which the Hon. William Lowther was a founding member in the 1860's, found evidence for multiple cremations, a flint knife and a bone ring; these artefacts were kept at Lowther Castle (Mawson, 1875). This shows a growing family interest in the past and its memory, a curiosity deeper than the collection of the 'unusual', which tallies with the antiquarian interests of the Victorian age as seen at Eamont Bridge and Brougham, as well as in the numerous excavations carried out by the CWAAS across the Lowther Valley area; as part of this it is likely that the Lowther antiquarian interests saw family members present at the openings of many of the area's Neolithic and Bronze Age burial monuments. This interest in landscape and time, in the context of more widespread antiquarianism, also allowed the Lowthers to create and disperse memories of the local landscape's past and interesting nature

to a wide and growing audience in other antiquarian societies around the country (Weatherall, 1998, 23).

Moving into the Castle's Gardens, Hugh, 5th Earl, played a large part in transforming past material memories into a new landscape situation (OA North, 2007(a)). In the creation of many of his Edwardian Gardens, Hugh links memories of local and distant landscapes into that of his own; he moved vast amounts of the remaining Shap Abbey stone for use in stairways, bed and pond edging in the Japanese Garden, and some for display, as seen on this upright stone which still shows an inscribed 'a' (see Fig.8). Just as the materiality and shape of this stone was well suited to his landscape design, the quatrefoil stones making aesthetically pleasing steps, their placement as edges would have made them easily noticed, like the cross fragment in the rockery, perhaps showing that this re-use was more than functional, the imbued sense of time within the stones added a sense of memory that resonated with him at least. The 'ancient' landscape also receives a nod in the sweet scented garden in the form of 'cairn' water features that resemble, in miniature, the various Bronze-Age cairns found up on Askham Fell where the aforementioned stone shopper was found (see Fig.9); this is a landscape known to be littered with Bronze-Age and Neolithic artefacts and so the sweet scented garden could be seen as Hugh's attempt to link perceived old and new landscapes, to bring 'history' into his garden as well as his house and to appreciate the memory that the surrounding landscape

Fig.8: Shap Abbey stones re-used ornamentally in Gardens: b, this is inscribed with a letter 'a'. Photograph: author, July 2014

holds as well as that of the Castle and Church. Certainly today, when the stone features are most prominent in the garden landscape, the context of 21st century heritage and appreciation for the landscape, especially in the rest of the Gardens where nature conservation is a major theme, the memories evoked, and promoted through signboards, tie these landscapes and times together and include the memories of Hugh as part of this process.

Fig.9: 'Cairn' water feature in the old scented garden, perhaps a memory of the cairns on Askham fell. Photograph: author, July 2014

Road names in the wider Park and structures and trees in the Gardens all hold the memory of different family members in the present landscape, whether physically experienced or seen on a map. Earl Henry's Drive, which runs from Eamont Bridge to Lowther Castle, cutting through part of the Little Round Table earthwork remains, is now the primary entrance to Lowther Holiday Park, a caravan site half a mile north of the Castle; it is named after the 3rd Earl of Lonsdale. It is flanked by towering beech trees, many of which supposedly come from seeds collected by Lieutenant Lowther on the battlefield of Waterloo (Lowther Estates, 2011). Hugh's Crag Viaduct, carrying the Victorian railway line, crosses the Drive; this is named after the 5th Earl. Marking out the Park's southern extent is Emperor's Drive, a road especially built by the 5th Earl for the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II, a personal friend, to Lowther, whilst the accompanying 'Emperor's Lodge' now sits separately, discombobulated by the M6 motorway. Within the Gardens, the Jubilee summerhouse celebrates Queen Victoria's jubilee with a spectacular view of the landscape,

whilst 'Hugh's Garden', containing the Shap Abbey stone steps, is modelled on the gardens of Versailles. Further north in the Park stand a large group of pine trees said to have been brought from Barbados by Robert Lowther, once Governor there, who had originally transplanted them on the island from England (Lowther Estates, 2011). This multitude of personal memories and stories still attached to family members through different parts of the Park landscape show that certain past events were not just willingly remembered by the family to highlight their prestige, but the physical changes and landmarks produced by these memories persisted into the consciousness of the wider community; heritage is an important factor of the estate for the family today who are proud to conserve animal breeds directly related to those first imparked by Lowthers in the 13th century (Lowther Estates, 2011(a)).

In summary, Lowther Church and Lowther Castle represent two different types of material focus for memory and interaction with the wider landscape; both shows aspects of an interest in remembering or forgetting the past in which the local landscape plays a role, just as it does at other sites in the Lowther valley. Whilst Lowther Church is a hub of material remembrance for the Lowther family, demonstrating their interest in promoting family memory that may have existed in a whole variety of landscapes, from the local to the international, within the churchyard landscape that is influenced by the 'power' that past memorials, such as the hogback stones, bring; theirs is simply a wealthy and informed contribution that builds upon such wider activities in the Lowther Valley, as seen in the 'Giant's Grave', a multiple hogback and cross grave structure in St Andrew's churchyard in Penrith which puzzles history today and resonates with local myth and legend (Furness, 1894). Lowther Castle stands as more of a monument to deeper individual Lowther interests in the past, particularly to the Victorian tastes of the 5th Earl, which were concerned with landscapes both near and far; Roman sculptures and Neolithic tools allowed a historical awareness to pervade the house, whilst stone cairn features and Doric columns showed a wish to create miniaturised memories of

landscapes in the designed Gardens. Many Lowthers appreciated the past in the wider landscape, trying to preserve its memory or portray it anew; a Lady Lowther of the 18th century sketched the Shap Avenue, in the 19th century William Lowther helped found the CWAAS and excavated numerous barrows, the 5th Earl sought to convey his own memories through the historical materiality of the Shap Abbey stone and the numerous local Roman tombstones taken to Lowther, from the area around Kirkby Thore, showed a level of interest that many locals did not share (Collingwood, 1983, 759-771).

The shell of Lowther Castle has forgotten the material roots of these memories, which now lie dispersed around the world yet condensed in an archive, but it stands as a monument to them and those Lowthers that created them, just as the ruins of Shap Abbey stand testament to the forgotten hundreds of granite megaliths now fragmented and strewn across the landscape, having been put to other uses. The Lowther Valley landscape has not forgotten time, whether in the erection of modern monuments or the preservation of older landscape features, but time has forgotten the landscape; for generations one family ensured that they and their local landscape would be remembered in some way, now they are letting the material archaeology of the landscape create new memories of their and others' actions in the hope that it might start to join remembered times together, memorialising itself and bending the forgotten tracts of linear time out of history.

2.3 Representing these memories of the landscape

The importance of the relationship between interpretation and representation cannot be overlooked and this section attempts to move past ideas of simple landscapes arising from descriptive chronologies by using memory mapping to portray the findings from the previous section, as explained in the introduction section (see 1.2). The memory map produced,

although only in its infancy, attempts to show the potential complexity and variability of the landscape interpretations possible through memories, recognising that the ways in which memories are communicated is as important for their understanding as is their content (Kansteiner, 2002). The full implications of this approach for interpretations of the landscape, such as those formed in the previous section, are thoroughly examined in the discussion section (see 3.1).

Using 'Google Maps Engine LITE' online software I attempted a basic (and far from complete) outline of a memory map of Lowther Castle and Gardens and the Lowther Valley area (see Fig.10), focussing on not just the places in the landscape where past and present material memory could be experienced, but more importantly on the connections and associations between different parts of the landscape, different times and the different memories present in both. The satellite imagery base map was chosen over other templates, following Mermin's call for viewing the world through experience (Mermin, 2014), as it is the least abstract representation of the landscape available.

The places marked on this map include many of the archaeological sites and features discussed in the previous section, along with many other archaeological and memorial sites identified from the numerous sources stated in the methodology (see 1.3). Archival records, recent digital material available online and personal experience of visiting the Lowther Valley landscape, of course exploring and moving between many of its marked sites in the process, all influenced the context of the production of this memory map, a representation based only on my informed perspective. Ideally, in the future, digital, freely accessible memory maps of such landscapes would allow for memories from multiple perspectives to be represented so that interpretations could include as wider range of experiences of landscape and time as possible (see Butler, 2008).

This map is more of a representational experiment for archaeology, an experiment most certainly still in the pilot stage. It consists of three layers: places, marked by the red balloons, areas, shown by purple hatching, and links, the blue lines. Places are parts of the material landscape which are archaeologically significant. Areas are wider parts of the landscape that contain two or more places potentially remembered and experienced together under a given identity, for example whilst the Gardens of Lowther Castle contain features in their own right, these will usually evoke memories within the context of the whole Castle and Gardens site. Defining an area is, therefore, dependent upon subjective memory and so is an individual choice with no hard and fast rules. Similarly, the links between places are inherently subjective as they offer the most direct representation of memory to the viewer; the lines showing the connections between places in the landscape established by memories. Each 'layer', a purely technical term and nothing to do with stratigraphy or palimpsests, can be turned on or off, rendering it visible or invisible; leaving just the links layer visible gives a compelling impression of how a complex network of memory is spread throughout the landscape, experientially linking it all together.

Despite what is suggested by the screenshot, the map contains more than just these static representations; on the online map any place, area or link can be clicked to reveal a pop-up information box, a la Google Maps. If a link is clicked then the viewer is provided with information, whether text, quotes, photos, videos, hyperlinks etc., which acts as a fragment of the process that re-creates the memory in the present. This is illustrated by the labelled link between Brougham Hall and Brocavum Roman fort earthwork (see Fig.10); clicking on the place marker for the Hall would display information about it which can be experienced in the present, perhaps using photos of the view, whilst clicking on the blue line linking the two would show a quote and/or a hyperlink to a timeline of the Hall, describing how it was built on the site of a Roman watchtower which guarded the Roman road to Brocavum (Brougham

Hall, 2014). This information not only provides the context of the memory link, it also enables the memory to link times as well as places joining together the present landscape with the 'Roman' landscape in a simultaneous re-creation of both the Hall and fort in a new and complex memory. In this way, the pop-up information boxes add a fourth layer to the map which illustrates the complexity of the memories represented whilst letting the blue links contort space and time in the process, much like Mermin's vision of interweaving experiences (Mermin, 2014).

Archaeologically, the network of memory spread over the map holds significant potential for understanding the past in a more experiential manner than descriptive chronologies would allow. The labelled ex-barrow east of Lowther (see Fig.10) may no longer be present in the landscape, yet it is still marked on the map and its connection to Lowther Castle remembered, a link which itself promotes interpretations surrounding a past interest in the past and a past remembering of it through excavation, recording and collection; the landscape feature destroyed is now not forgotten and neither are its links with the past nor its ability to spark an interest in the local landscape.

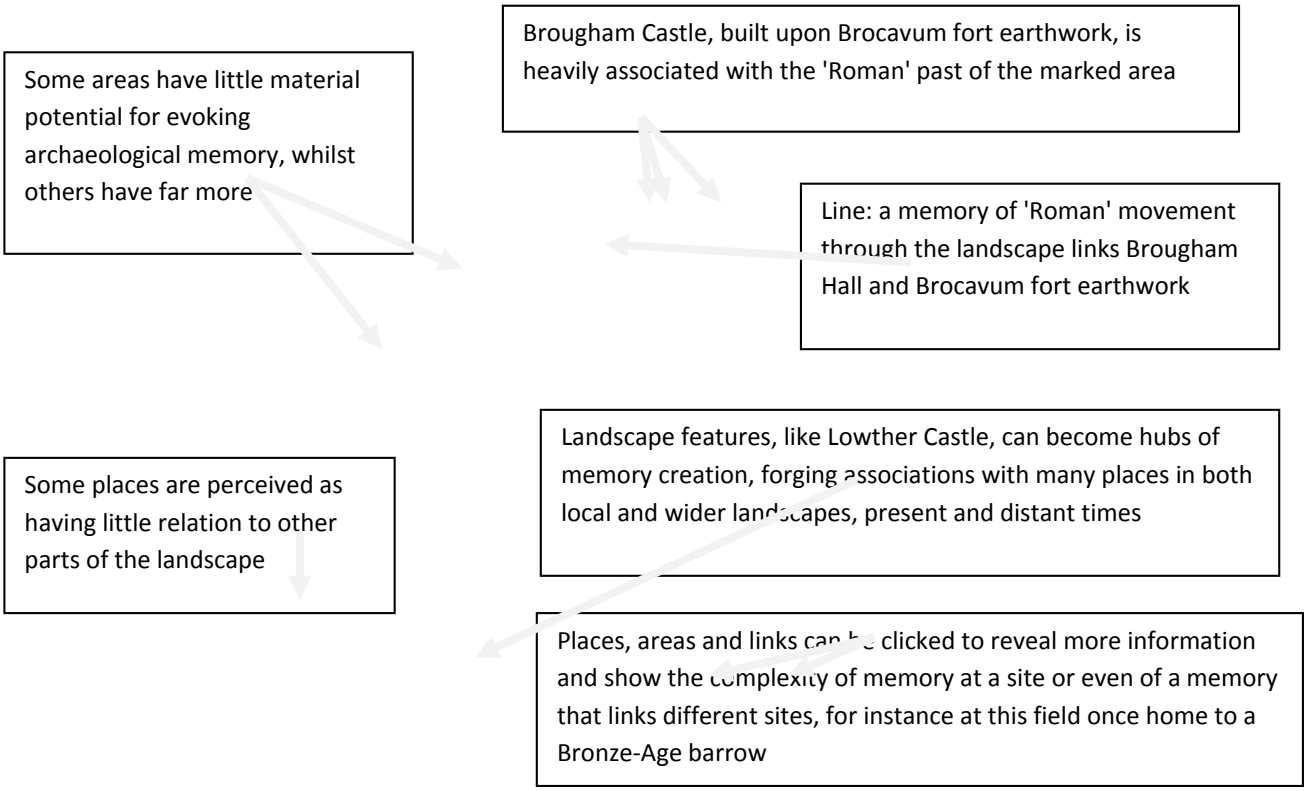

Fig.10: 'Stitched' screenshot of the Lowther Valley memory map with explanatory annotations (see below), the northern half of the area is shown in this example (satellite imagery copyright Google 2014)

Although such a memory link is a present representation, it holds a great deal of informative potential about members of the past and their memories of time and landscape, interpretations of which will see past, present and future influenced (Holtorf & Williams, 2006, 252-254). The information within these links, as in the Brougham example, is often where the tool of chronology is best used; here it can form and inform memory, subtly influence archaeological interpretation rather than rigidly structuring it.

3. Discussion

The landscape of the Lowther Valley, with Lowther Castle at its centre, is a wealth of material that is being remembered by those experiencing it; this applies to any landscape, but in archaeologically rich landscapes there are greater opportunities for many memories of past times to be created simultaneously via experience (Holtorf, 1998). This leads to different ways of experiencing ‘the past in the past’ in the present (Olivier, 2004), the possibility of variation highlighting the subjective nature of time, as discussed in the introduction (Lucas 2005, 1-32). The preceding section explored the ways in which the material of the present showed an interest in the past, whether from past Lowther family members, as seen in the memorials of St Michael’s church, or present members of the wider community, demonstrated by the modern megalithic Millennium Monument (see 2.). Such interest is always going to be individual, just like every experiencing of the landscape, but, for the majority, some material features of a landscape have a greater potential to create memories involving 'pastness' and a sense of time that are influenced by past and present cultural memory alike (Assman, 1995). The landscape as a whole also has the potential to tie together temporally disparate experiences and memories, for example the dreary and troublesome 'Shap experience' which similarly blighted investigators across the centuries (see 2.1.1).

As has been discussed at length in the preceding section, memories and experiences of, and associations between, parts of the landscape of different age dominate this area, whether in the re-appropriation of abbey stone for landscape gardening or the protection given to modern lambing pens by the Mayburgh henge earthwork, disrupting the discrete orderings of chronological time in the theoretical context discussed in the introduction (see 1.2). The fact that artefacts respectively representative of many different time periods reside in the current landscape, or at least in currently available records of it, merely serves to highlight the pitfalls of representing time chronologically as a line of events. Aside from the questionable

identities and stereotypes which terms like ‘Roman’ or ‘Viking’ force onto communities and areas, the idea portrayed that on some given set of dates the Romans left Brocavum and ‘disappeared’ is misleading when seen in terms of memory; Roman influence had spread Romano-British families and beliefs across the landscape. Subsequent re-use or change of such parts of the landscape was all part of the fading from memory of the ‘Roman’, but future people created new ‘Roman’ memories, whether in the sculpture room of Lowther Castle or at Brougham Hall, a process which connected chronologically modern time with Roman time, bending the linear distortion of the timeline into the varying shapes of remembered experiences (B Bender, 2002).

Olivier, amongst others, suggests that dividing time into past, present and future is merely arbitrary and unhelpful for archaeological interpretation as any landscape is simply an indivisible mixture of times (Olivier, 2004). Whether this is recognised, and if so to what extent, is largely subjective and dependent upon memory; perceiving and interpreting Lowther Castle and Gardens is a very different experience when a knowledge of the Lowther family is present to have an influence on the material landscape. Similarly, labelling Lowther Castle as 208 years old leaves it stuck in the past, marooned on a timeline, despite its past presences and obvious current presence giving it the ability to subjectively distort the entire flow of time (Olivier, 2004; Barrett, 1999). Tellingly, the ongoing heritage project also highlights the historical and archaeological sense that both memory and chronology are intertwined; the proposed heritage 'plan', with its notion of re-creating the gardens to give a 'patchwork' landscape of sections from different times whilst maintaining an overall 'romantic' feeling of an area being rediscovered, as exemplified by the Castle ruin, stitches chronological elements into a landscape to be experienced and remembered, first and foremost, as a coherent whole, the interspersion of dates here and there adding to the meaning

of this whole rather than dominating and redefining it (LCGT, 2008; Lucas, 2005, 1-32; Burstrom, 2014).

As briefly touched upon in the introduction (see 1.2), alternative portrayals and perceptions of time are numerous; not only have others differentially related time and landscape in the past, with it being suggested that oral histories anchored memory into the landscape whereas written ones fixed onto a timeline (Whyte, 2009, 126), but there have been and are various methods used in each respective attempt (Greenway, 1999). The complex connections of experience offered by representations of remembering, as seen on the memory map (see 2.3), open up interpretative possibilities through novel combinations and perceptions. The power of this perceptive creativity, is most obvious when seen in material form in the landscape; the re-use of the Quale mound by those that buried the 5th Earl and his wife physically created a drastically new landscape experience, one that is re-created over and over again by those that visit it, some of whom will remember its hogback-hiding past and so create new mounds with different times, all subsumed within the perceived landscape setting. Such a view of the situation, from a memory-based perspective, allows us to recognise material pasts as being parts of contemporary landscape processes (Witmore, 2008). The variable ways in which the archaeology and memorials within the Lowther landscape can be interpreted, and how the representation of this in turn affects these interpretations, is discussed below.

3.1 Interpreting the area and the role of memory-based representation

The ability for the method by which archaeological understandings are portrayed to inherently affect the interpretation is an important consideration, as already discussed, one that is examined in detail in the context of the findings of discussed above (see 2.1, 2.2) and the memory map explained previously (see 2.3).

The range of antiquarian activities that occurred in the Lowther Valley (see 2.1, 2.2) may easily be interpreted as large-scale actions of groups showing and forming an interest of the landscape via interactions with it, or on the individual level at specific sites, but the map's linking of memories of experiencing excavating or collecting at various places in the landscape allows a more nuanced interpretation that connects these two scales. This representation lets the 19th century activities of the CWAAS in the Lowther Valley, even if born out of interest, become more about linking parts of the landscape together through experiences which both remember and create identities for sites and individuals, whilst the amalgamation of these changing memories created the potential for the CWAAS to be remembered through a wider collective memory, that may have influenced the creation of an overarching 'antiquarian' identity, just as their work enabled the identities of different parts of the landscape to assume their own potential for creating collective memories of the landscape in time (Levine, 2003, 60-63). The participation of Lowther family members in the creation of these memories may be interpreted as an attempt to re-appropriate the materials of the past and display them to bolster the family and the Castle's identity. However, the map shows that whether experiencing such artefacts at Lowther Castle, discussing their discovery at antiquarian meetings or learning of their 'biographies' now through records, an artefact has the potential to create memories linking the Lowthers, Lowther Castle and the artefact to the landscape in which it was discovered, even when, as now, no collection exists in the Castle and the feature originally excavated has left no discernible landscape trace. Representation of Lowther antiquarian involvement through memory therefore simultaneously remembers parts of the Lowther Valley landscape along with Lowther Castle, in the context of which sits Lowther interaction with the landscape and its potential for memory, now interpreted as a more mutual, deeper process experienced by many, past and present, rather than just a simple case of the landscape and the past being exploited to raise the status of a few (Assman, 1995).

The memory map shows a 'Roman' area around Brougham, although the main physical features present there today are both medieval, and a 'prehistoric' area Eamont Bridge; such landscape divisions arising from wider memories, and the stereotypical identities that go with them, show the subconscious role of chronology in shaping experiences and memories, especially in the present and recent past (Greenway, 1999). Just like the archaeological features in the landscape, the fragments of chronological information that are included within the experiential construction of a memory have their own influences on future memories, especially those broader and more collective in nature (Olivier, 2004). However, the memory map includes the places and links that form any given area, allowing the user to examine connections between the experiences of landscape and time that influences such a collective view; indeed a different user with a different experience may have created a memory of the area deemed to be 'Medieval', another user may not have an area or applied any such label to Brougham. The potential to link present experiences and past memories, partly created by the antiquarian work discussed above, from varying perspectives demonstrates the interpretive possibilities of perceived landscape change through time opened up through representing experiences with archaeological material via memories created and the potential of memory creation (Burstrom, 2014). The present identities and connections in the landscape created by past experiences also shows that the map makes it easier to visualise how memories can alter perceptions of the abstracts of space and time, despite their inherent and subconscious roles in the creation of any memory (A Bender, 2014).

The way in which memories affect each other, especially when a memory created in the present re-creates a past memory in the process, is part of the continual interpretation and re-interpretation of time central to archaeology. Although a link between the landscapes of Shap Abbey and Lowther Castle is evident in the material re-use of the Abbey stone (see 2.2.2), the possibility of present memories to differently link the two sites introduces new potential

interpretations of sites and the past actions connecting them in memory. The current heritage project at Lowther plans to maintain the castle ruin to enhance its affective qualities as part of the landscape, drawing on romantic and picturesque notions that link the landscape to a 'lost' time which visitors are able to rediscover (LCGT, 2008). The striking nature of Shap Abbey's ruins and West Tower in the landscape is not dissimilar (see 2.1.1) in terms of a picturesque feel, hence it is quite possible that present perceptions of these two ruins, despite their differing contexts, may link them through experience and memory, forgoing the formalities of space and time. Such present interpretations would also be able to act on older ones, changing the understanding of the landscape through the re-creation of memory. The dynamic nature of the memory map allows for multiple memories to be represented in a single line link, all becoming available when it is clicked, allowing for a multitude of interpretations to be perused rather than one being promoted at the expense of all others, preventing too narrow an understanding of time in the landscape from being portrayed through the memory link (see B Bender, 2002).

The interpretation of St Michael's church and churchyard at Lowther seems relatively straightforward; when experienced in the context of the Lowther landscape, it clearly appears to be a focus for the individual and collective memories of the Lowther family and its members through time, a material, memorial linking of ancestors to the present and a space in and with which to transmit family memory. But its potential representation on the memory map, with lines spreading out far and wide across the landscape, linking the memories of other Lowther memorials and burial places in the UK and other countries, some of these also mentioned at St Michael's, for example Sir James, last Baronet of Whitehaven (Owen, 1990, 253), allows for other interpretations to come forward which complicate the first. Perhaps St Michael's is not just about maintaining memory through time and transmitting it across the landscape, as the lines on the map may suggest, but instead it is about creating a memorial

association that increases the potential for distant Lowther memorials to themselves create memories of St Michael's and Lowther Castle, geographically 'returning home' Lowthers through memory, some of whom may not even have lived at Lowther. Although St Michael's and its interior memorial landscape is a crucial part of either memory and interpretation, in terms of questioning how the Lowther family created and maintained potentials for 'Lowther' memory such subtleties of interpretation do make a difference; whether memories of all Lowther individuals were explicitly given a home at Lowther depends upon the experience of the memorials and the links between, some may have perceived a link in the landscape as existing, others may not, but this does open up potential ambiguities surrounding the memory of Lowther Castle, ambiguities of interpretation present in the medium of their representation (see Witmore, 2008).

Today, I would argue that Lowther Castle is perceived as a site of greater potential for remembering the Lowthers and their memories than it was during its heyday. Its shell dominates the present landscape, its Gardens give reference to the surroundings in terms of Lowther grandeur; a grandeur imagined through the re-creation of the material landscape that influences its memory at multiple points in time. However, even in the memories of that grandeur a less personal, more material set of associations reside; whilst the memory map of the present landscape extends to a few points in the near vicinity, extending it to include the memories created by the forgotten material grandeur, now only accessible for experience in archived form, would create a vast network of temporal connections across a much wider landscape. In spatial and temporal terms this spread seems to increase the potential to remember Lowther, but in terms of memory this actually leaves it prone to dilution.

Just as experiencing the cairn water features in the landscape re-creates them both perceptually and mnemonically, potentially forging a reciprocal memory link with cairns in another place that simultaneously changes them, so the plethora of material formerly present

in Lowther Castle and gardens, from Roman sculptures to bronze wading birds, links with a huge number of other landscapes and times in such changing relationships. Lowther can be experienced countless times over in differing contexts, it being re-created with its memory in the process, fragmented and diluted into other material landscapes and objects. In this memory map the surrounding landscape comes to dominate, rendering Lowther its hub only in name, as a distorted trace of itself that convolutes time and leaves its family largely forgotten; but in the present landscape, with its seemingly sparser memory map, there is greater clarity of remembrance, the material shell is a distinctive landscape feature free of much other material association and thus able to re-create time's links and remember its owners, past, present and future, through more intangible connections.

The influence of the landscape on Lowther Castle and the Lowthers, and vice versa, shows that experiences of the Castle and surrounding area owe as much to forgetting as to remembering. Indeed, whilst forgetting is an integral part of remembering, with the physical creation of memory fragments meaning the loss of others (see 1.2), the potentials for what is forgotten and remembered change with the landscape. Viewing the landscape as past, present and future combined allows for the hogback stones in Lowther church to be perceptually re-created through intangible claims of family ancestry just as forgotten barrows, excavated by locals including Lowthers and now invisible in the landscape, can be imagined through records of their absent contents, once present in Lowther Castle and forming a greater link between Lowther and time. When the 6th Earl was on the brink of demolishing Lowther Castle, the memories of local people persuaded him against it, memories tied into the landscape and its associative times that the Lowther family had re-created, remembered and forgotten throughout its experienced time; an interest in future times and the creation of memories in the present and future, memories that re-created the landscape and time, ensured a less drastic change to the landscape but also one that few of the future memories would

have imagined (Owen 1990, 406). The ongoing heritage project and the material changes it is making to both landscape and memory, with its non-chronological focus on re-creating the Gardens to be of multiple times rather than at a point in time (LCGT, 2008), emphasises the efforts of modern family members to recognise the influences of remembering and experience on the landscape and time, something often overlooked and which shows an appreciation of the importance of place for individuals when coming to their understanding of time and the Lowther landscape.

3.2 Conclusion

In summary, the experiential basis of memory, both materially in the landscape or in digital form, allows it to inform variable archaeological interpretations free from the potential constraints of chronology and labelled identities. A chronology of St Michael's Church describes the additive actions of the Lowther family in terms of memorial construction, the progress from burial under the church floor to burial in the mausoleum with the memory of the past, associated with the Quale mound and its artefacts, being used and re-used in later times. But considering this in terms of memory shows a more varied picture, different family members valued the experience of memory in contrasting ways, one completely unconcerned with memorials, another so concerned that he built his own for later use; the experiences of the memorials are individual, whether family member, local or visitor, and the re-creation of the memorial landscape through such remembering highlights the changing nature of memory, landscape and time that the family have been experiencing. This is far more complex interpretation, represented by the memories which link a plethora of names, faces, places and times together, one which promotes more imaginative understandings than those of the descriptive accretion of the chronological interpretation. The memory map allows for deeper, more complex archaeological interpretations of the landscape and the perceptions of time within it; these may sometimes become too complicated and confusing, but memory

and archaeology can be confusing and to smooth over this would be to lose the essence of experiencing the past in the present.

Similarly, the question of Lowther Castle as a focus for remembering the activities of Lowthers, their interactions with landscapes and times, both local and distant, is too easily glossed over by a chronological interpretation which sees a span of eight-hundred years of habitation dotted by memorable points interspersed with tracts of space in which the landscape and family are forgotten. In terms of memory, the present landscape shows the changing relationship that it enjoys with Lowther Castle and the Lowthers, how the archaeological materials of time that have the potential to create memories have been and continue to be re-created in various ways to strengthen the bonds between time, landscape, the Lowthers and their home; just as this remembering and forgetting has differentially promoted various aspects of the Lowther Castle landscape, so this has simultaneously re-created the surrounding Lowther Valley landscape and forged associative links through an appreciation of time. By creating new memories and forgetting others, both the Lowthers and the landscape have promoted remembering together through their simultaneously changing identities, something that is recurring today; whether Lowther Castle is experienced as the focal point where Lowthers are remembered is an individual matter, but by fusing its identity with that of the landscape a memory of representation persists which ensures that whatever potential memories of the landscape and its time that experience creates, they will be found at the present moment on the map at the place represented by Lowther Castle.

3.3 The Future

Studies of memory in archaeology and history continue to grow and such representative uses of memory for archaeological understanding, especially of landscapes, is well suited to digital technologies, mass public engagement and the creation of varied, experience-based

interpretations of the past and present. The memory map needs further refinement, particularly in dealing with more 'intangible' experiences and memories. For Lowther, with decades of planned change to come, the future offers the exciting opportunity to observe changes in a landscape and its memories which will gradually become part of archaeological narratives past, present and future.

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